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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE MEDIEVAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SUPERNATURAL
AS SHOWN IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

Submitted by

Ida Winifred Tierney
(B.S., Simmons, 1927)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

1928

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MEDIEVAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SUPERNATURAL AS SHOWN IN MIDDLE
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THEORY OF THE EARTH AND ITS HISTORY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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2. It is divided into two main parts, the first of which deals with the general history of the earth, and the second with the history of the various parts of the earth.

3. The first part is divided into three chapters, the first of which deals with the origin of the earth, the second with the development of the earth, and the third with the present state of the earth.

4. The second part is divided into four chapters, the first of which deals with the history of the various parts of the earth, the second with the history of the various parts of the earth, the third with the history of the various parts of the earth, and the fourth with the history of the various parts of the earth.

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2. It is a subject which has been discussed by many of the greatest philosophers and scientists of the world, and one which has led to many of the most important discoveries of the world.

3. The origin of the earth is a subject which has been discussed by many of the greatest philosophers and scientists of the world, and one which has led to many of the most important discoveries of the world.

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- b. Christ and the Virgin Mary
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2. The second part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the present day.

3. The third part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the future.

4. The fourth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the past.

5. The fifth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the present.

6. The sixth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the future.

7. The seventh part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the present.

8. The eighth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the past.

9. The ninth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the present.

10. The tenth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the future.

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12. The twelfth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the past.

13. The thirteenth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the present.

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15. The fifteenth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the present.

16. The sixteenth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the past.

17. The seventeenth part of the book is devoted to the study of the English language in the present.

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INTRODUCTION

I. The Philosophy of the Schoolmen Determined the Medieval Attitude Towards the Supernatural.

Immediate sources, pagan and Christian, for the medieval philosophy, are found in Aristotle and in Boethius, in the New Testament and in the Church Fathers. The Aristotelian method was adopted with modifications by Thomas Aquinas in his formulation of the Scholastic philosophy of the medieval era. Boethius, who flourished in Rome at the end of the fifth century was probably a pagan, or more likely still, a Christian who had in his youth abandoned Christianity in response to the seductions of the pagan culture, but whose writings, during the succeeding centuries, came to be largely identified with Christian literature.

Immortality and free-will in the light of the new system of belief, supernatural attributes of each individual member of the human race, had existed as pre-Christian concepts. The advent of Christianity was not significant in that it established the existence of an after-life, but in its accentuation of the life on earth as being merely preparatory for the next. This is the origin of the "contemptus mundi" spirit in medieval literature, which manifested itself as an attitude of indifference, if not of disdain towards material welfare inasmuch as success in this world was deemed a serious impediment to spiritual progress.

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The transitory nature of the present life as contrasted with the eternal character of the after-life is the theme peculiar to the literature of the Middle English period. The other-world, the other-life, assuming as they did, enormous proportions in the thought of the time, constituted a continuously recurrent subject for scop and scholar. The individual was bound to feel the closeness of this other-world, and to look upon himself as intellectually a free agent capable of working out his own relations with it; he would therefore regard with primary interest, communion with the supernatural, whether in formal worship or otherwise.

This other-world takes into consideration heaven, hell, limbo, and purgatory. Between heaven and purgatory and this world there exists a spiritual association or brotherhood-in-faith known as the "communion of saints." The literature of the Middle English period is replete with references to, and descriptions of, these supernatural regions. It might be interesting to compare them with the Hades and Elysium of Virgil.

The medieval writers were affected by the pagan classic tradition in the supernatural. The opinions of Macrobius (d. 415) on dreams appear in "The Romaunt of the Rose," and the pre-Christian "wheel of fortune" concept originating with Boethius is employed by Chaucer, notably in his "Balade of Fortune." The supernatural is an ever-present factor in the homilies and saints' lives, as well as in the metrical romances of medieval England. The mysteries beginning with the early Adam plays, illustrate the beginning of a

dramatic use of the supernatural; which tendency appearing as it does in the folk play, was to become increasingly apparent up through pre- Elizabethan drama, primarily as a Senecan influence.

II. Definition of "the Supernatural" as That Which Exceeds the Laws of Nature.

"The supernatural" is that which belongs to a higher realm than that of nature; it is that which relates to, deals with, or is characterized by, powers transcending the ordinary course of nature. From the point of view of a medieval layman it may be considered as embracing the individual's attitude towards this world, as well as towards fate, destiny, and the other-world. The Scholastic system, besides attributing to man the spiritual qualities of intellect and of free will, located him in a universal scheme comprising a visible, and, naturally speaking, an invisible world.

As practically all writers in the medieval era were clerics or laymen who had been schooled in the philosophy of the Church, the element of the supernatural is treated freely and at length in the literature of the Middle English period. Where the Church, once it had established the character of the relation between this world and the next, ceased to theorize, there existed an unexplored region open to the imagination of the individual writer. There is no reason why "Newman's Dream of Gerontius" should not have several counterparts in the Middle English literature. This

tale of the adventures of a soul between death and judgment might very well have appeared, with less refinement of the literary medium, alongside of the "Debate between the Body and the Soul". This field, of what might be designated the broadly supernatural, is covered by the literature of visions and apparitions, types which shall be discussed further on in this paper.

The Church did not attempt to interfere with the individual's personal views towards the other-world so long as they were of a speculative nature, although her policy was usually one of drawing attention to the practicality of every-day life as a preparation for eternal existence. Where she ceased to be tolerant and stood unyielding in her condemnation was in her attitude towards what might correspond to modern spiritism, or supposed traffic in spirits. Otherwise the individual was unrestricted. ^{in what?} A typical point of view is perhaps expressed by the author of "The Pearl" (c. 1370):

"I halde þat iueler lyttel to prayse
 þat loueþ wel þat he seþ wyth yþe,
 & much to blame & uncort, a, yse
 þat leueþ oure Lorde wolde make a lyþe, (lie)
 þat lelly hyþte your lyf to rayse, (loyally)
 þaþ fortune dyd your flesch to dyþe (die)
 "þe setten hys wordeþ ful reþ, esternays (at awry)
 þat lyeþueþ nobynk bot þe hit syþe;
 & þat is a poynt o sorquydryþe; (pride)
 þat uche god mon may euel byseme,
 To leue no tale be true to tryþe (trust)
 Bot þat hys one skyl may dem." * (own)

* The Pearl
 (Osgood) p. 14, l. 26

The above quotation is intended as a rebuke to the man who, affected by a materialistic outlook on life, is overwhelmed at a time of misfortune, for he dwells unduly upon his particular sufferings. We have here the incident of a jeweler letting fall into the sod near the bank of a stream, a pearl of great price, and at last, weary from searching for it, he sinks into a slumber, and in a dream sees on the opposite side of the water his precious pearl revealed as a "little lady" of remarkable charm and beauty. She chides him for having grieved so for her, saying that he had wrongly prolonged his sorrow up to the very moment in which he saw her in glory; he should have had faith in the survival of the soul beyond the death of the body. The state of mind of this jeweler who had made no effort to avail himself of consoling texts, but who hugged his sorrow, was one of pride, and therefore reprehensible.

Writing in the same period as that in which "The Pearl" appeared, Chaucer in his "Legend of Good Women" seems to represent a point of view somewhat more conservative than that of the author of "The Pearl", although both are similar in one respect, namely, they both hold that for a thing to be true it needs not to have been witnessed by any one particular individual. Chaucer, however, warns against his reader's believing many more things than he has seen with his own eyes; but adds, that men shall not condemn everything as a lie just because they have not had the opportunity for ascertaining for themselves:

The above statement is submitted as a true and correct

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"A thousand sythes have I herd men telle,
 That ther is joye in heven, and peyne in helle;
 And I acorde wel that hit be so;
 But nathelas, this wot I wel also,
 That ther nis noon that dwelleth in this contree,
 That either hath in helle or heven y- be,
 Ne may of hit non other weyes witen,
 But as he hath herd seyð, or founde hit writen;
 For by assay ther may no man hit preve.
 But goddes forbode, but men shulde leve
 Wel more thing then men han seen with ye!

Men shal nat wenen every-thing a lye
 For that he seigh it nat of yore ago.
 God wot, a thing is never the lesse so
 Thogh every wight ne may hit nat y- see." *

*Chaucer (Skeat) p.349, l.1

THE MEDIEVAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SUPERNATURAL

I. "The Supernatural" entered into the Layman's Attitude towards this World.

A. Conservatism characterized the Process of Change from Paganism to Christianity.

Only in a vague way can we explain the very beginnings of Christianity in England. We know, however, that the Roman Conquest began in the year A.D. 42, and continued until the close of the century, when there began the energetic administration by Rome. With so many Roman soldiers in England, and some of them Christians, it is highly probable that, at least in a few instances, the Christian faith was transmitted by them to the natives. There is evidence that about the year 300, Alba, a Christian, suffered death, being the first British martyr. During the fourth century the Church began to make rapid strides, for it appears that at the Council of Arles, held in 314, three British churches signed the synodical letter addressed to Pope Silvester. Such progress for the Church received a temporary check in the arrival of the pagan Angles, Jutes, and Saxons. The invaders, victorious at Deorham in 577, succeeded in eventually driving the native Christian population of Britain up into the mountains of Wales, of Cornwall, and of Devon. Thus paganism existed once more in the land; but

less than a quarter-century later the missions from Rome and from Iona were destined to begin.

In the year 563, St. Columbkille, a prince from one of the royal houses of Ireland had founded on the tiny isle of Iona, off the west coast of Scotland, a monastery. He and his fellow-workers traversed these wild northern regions, inaccessible even to the Roman legions, establishing monasteries, of which the remains of fifty-three now remain to be seen. Thus Iona was the source of the Christian culture and learning, which was transmitted over the neighboring kingdoms. Columbkille ceased from his work in 597, the year in which Augustine started upon his mission in Kent.

Augustine, sent on the English mission by Pope Gregory, who had long had at heart the conversion of the heathen English, succeeded in converting Ethelbert, King of Kent, whose wife, the daughter of the Frankish king who ruled in Paris, was already a Christian. Augustine then crossed over to the continent, where he was consecrated as bishop, and returning, established his see at Canterbury. He organized the Church as far as Ethelbert governed, far beyond the borders of Kent,

Thirty years after the arrival^{in Kent} of Augustine, Edwin of Deira attained to the throne of Northumbria, marrying a Kentish princess, who brought with her into Northumbria the missionary, Paulinus. Thus was Christianity extended in the north of England. It was destined to prevail, despite the crushing defeat of the Northumbrians by the heathen king of Mercia;

for in this crisis, the returning tide of paganism was averted by the activity of the Scottish monks from Iona, under Aidan.

About the year 618, Oswald, successor of Edwin in Northumbria, fled to Iona to escape dissension at home, and following upon his return and restoration as king, he invited Iona to send teachers to his people, who were suffering from this revival of paganism. Aidan came and established at Lindisfarne, or, Holy Isle, a monastery modelled after that at Iona. Starting out from Lindisfarne, Aidan and his followers worked their way down through northern England until they met, in the South, a group of missionaries from Rome. There then occurred somewhat of a rift between these ~~two~~ two groups, differing as they did in respect to points of ritual; for the Celtic Church employed a ritual in baptism and a mode of determining the date of Easter which had been previously abandoned by Rome. The so-called Celtic party, comprised of the Irish, the Scots, and the Britons, lacking in organization, and the Roman group, accustomed to the system of government, met at Whitby in 664, where the preference of Rome prevailed. Henceforth the Church in England was to present a united front.

The coming of Augustine to the kingdom of Kent in the year 597 had begun for the English peoples an era of transition in religious beliefs. The initiation of Christianity into the island was to result in the displacement of Woden and Thor from the altars, but from the memories of the people. The frenzied festivals of the heathen gods were to be converted into joyful

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Christian feasts, but the spirit of the ages of pagan gloom would, in custom and common belief, survive even down into the Middle English period.

In the island of Britain there were to be found varying degrees of Christianity. Some kingdoms were converted before others. Race pride was everywhere strong, and an obstacle to the progress of the Church, for very often these newly-Christian nations seemed to be upon the point of exterminating each other in war; the fact that they were one in faith had no bearing whatever upon their civil policies. The Angles received Christianity later than the Britons by whom they were, for over a century, regarded as no better than pagans. Many of these early Englishmen were converts inasmuch as they subscribed to the two conditions laid down by the first missionaries.*

(Please see next page)

* Gasquet, Mission of Augustine, p. 11.

They were required to fulfill the obligation of baptism and that of the observation of Easter, points which were considered to contain the essence of the new belief. Meanwhile they retained many of their pagan folk customs.

Marvels and prodigies had been a part of the inheritance of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons from their early Teutonic forefathers. The conservatism of the process affecting the opinions and fancies of Anglo-Saxon England is evident from the royal genealogies recounted in the chronicles. The royal house of England, the House of Cerdic, continued to trace its descent from Woden, who was straightway preserved as a king once he had ceased to be a god. *

These early English were serious-minded people, descendants of Teutonic stock which was accustomed to the tragedy of life in swampy, sunless German forests; which felt the force of an unseen world and tried to explain it; viewing death with reverence if not without gloom. They had progressed beyond their crude mythologies, but yet they considered the world to be peopled by mysterious beings affecting their fate. In *Beowulf*, where the new and old orders are curiously intermingled, we read of nicors, or water sprites, eotens, or giants, of dragons and demons inhabiting the northern solitudes.*

During the centuries of transition intervening between the advent of Augustine and the Norman Conquest the Old-English trust in the possibility of supernatural aid in man or beast combat had developed among the Middle English folk into a solid philosophy

*(1) Ker, *Eng. lit. medieval*, p.45
 (2) *Beowulf* (Klaeber) p.16

that was to make men assay to overlook the tribulations of the present life in view of proffered welfare beyond death. This ethical standard of the Middle Ages, very often described as "contemptus mundi", was kept constantly before the eyes of the people in every form of literature, but especially in, and by means of, the "Morality".

"Everyman", although appearing late in the Middle English period, very clearly portrays the medieval philosophy. It presents the allegorical figure of Everyman summoned by Death and calling upon Fellowship, Kindred, Cousin, and Goods to accompany him to judgment. They refuse, leaving him to the mercy of Good Deeds who brings up her sister, Knowledge. Knowledge advises Everyman to seek Shrift, which he does. At the last he is foresaken by Beauty, Five Wits, Strength, and Discretion. Good Deeds interprets the situation thus:

"All earthly things are but vanity
Beauty, Strength and Discretion do man foresake,
Foolish friends and kinsmen that fair spake,
All flee away save Good Deeds and that am I."

We have the philosophy of the period appearing in a more detailed form in a homily called "Wit and Will" (1200-1250), which is a free treatment of part of the allegory "De Anima" of Hugo of St. Victor.* In the "Soul's Ward", or, "Wit and Will" the master of the house is Wit (Intellect) and his wife Will. Her servants, the five wits, resist the commands of the master of the house.

*(1) Everyman in Second Shepherd's Play, etc. (Child) p.16
(2) Schofield, Eng. lit. p.386

The house contains God's treasure, the Soul. Vice seeks entrance to destroy it; four cardinal virtues guard it. Providence sends frightful Fear as a messenger to arouse the inmates against the arrival of Death who is on the way with one thousand devils to draw sinners to hell. Prudence has him describe his plan; he portrays the damned and depicts the despair of these wretched souls in fearful torment. Each of the virtues offers advice. Prudence then introduces a messenger from heaven, Love of Life, who tells of God, and by his very presence, drives out Fear. Once he has described heavenly bliss the entire household becomes subject to Wit, disregarding Will. The author of the "Soul' Ward" meant to portray the moral theme of the advisability of having one's will subject to intellect and conscience; a primary principle of Scholastic philosophy.

B. The Initiation of Christianity into England introduced the Bible and the Writings of the Church Fathers.

The Christian literary sources of the period were the Bible, and especially the New Testament, together with the writings of the Church Fathers. Regarding the use of the Bible we read in Styrpe's Cranmer.* ^{Date}

"It is not much above a hundred years since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realm; many hundred years before that it was translated and read in the Saxon tongue, and when that language waxed old and out of common usage, because folks should not lack the fruit of

*Drane, Christian Schools, p.559

reading it, it was translated again into the newer language."

The Old Testament portrays the spectacle of God's manifestation of himself, and his continued intervention in behalf of a specified people; and the New Testament, that of his own sacrifice for all peoples. The value of the individual soul is thus depicted in the New Testament; while the lives of the saints supply countless instances of the unceasing siege of the world, the flesh, and the devil. In the earliest English drama the dramatic quality of human life is represented in a crude manner. The supernatural element is contributed by angels bearing messages or writings. The creation of Adam and Eve, the temptation, and expulsion as represented in an Adam play* appearing in the thirteenth century, is representative of the supernatural motivation of the mystery play.

After the act of creation, God leaves the scene and the devils appear, running about in the square; now and then approaching Eve, and suggesting to her the forbidden fruit. The first devil intercepts Adam and tempts him; in vain, however. After a conference with his fellows, this devil again fails in his purpose on Adam. A third time he makes the attempt; this time upon Eve. (The fall is succeeded by confession and the promise of a Redeemer to come.) At the gate of paradise there appears an angel arrayed in dazzling white, and bearing a flaming sword. Once Adam and Eve have assumed their existence upon the earth, the devil continues to interfere, even to the extent of sowing thorns into the ground they have planted.

A study of the Mystery plays, most of which have their
*Whitmore, Supernatural in Tragedy, p.123

source in biblical narrative, makes it clear, that to the Scriptures is due that tendency towards allegory and parable, which was later to be developed by a rapidly expanding mysticism. Quotations and paraphrases of Scripture appear in every type of literature, but especially in a homily-type such as the "Ancren Riwe", which was written for the moral guidance of anchoresses.

The medieval era is sometimes spoken of as the age of faith in the supernatural. It was a period characterized by spontaneous enthusiasm in life, in spite of the limitation of opportunities for self-expression in the social order of the time. The religious ideals dominating England, in common with the rest of Europe, were expressed in the intense popular appeal of crusade and pilgrimage. The crusades, ten in number, occurring between the years 1095 and 1272, were to determine the pitch of religious fervor of the Middle English period. Zeal directed towards the rescuing of the sepulchre of a God was no mean national impulse. The knightly ideal owes considerable to two devotions practised in the Church. Devotion to the Virgin Mary as Queen of the heavenly courts, as Mother of Christ, made a very deep appeal to the medieval layman; and was dependent upon his worship of The Eucharist.

Beneath the "contemptus mundi" concept is that of the acceptance of Christ as a Redeemer who had bought, at the price of his blood, the human race: which concept was frequently expressed in terms of a spiritual transaction or bargain. In the "Ormulum"*

*Emerson, p.11, l.7

we read:

"Of hu sob Godd wass wurrpenn mann forr all mannkine nede

And off patt mannkinn purrh hiss daep wass lesedd ut off helle"

And in John Myrc's "Instructions for Parish Priests": *

"To bye oure synnes and make us fre".

C. The Spirit of "Contemptus Mundi", originating in Boethius and Lothario di Segni, sustained Universal Interest in the Supernatural.

That aspect of medieval philosophy, termed by us "contemptus mundi" from the work "De Contemptu Mundi" of Lothario di Segni, afterwards Innocent III, has a direct bearing upon any consideration of the medieval attitude towards the supernatural in that, in the literature of the period, it was a force tending to avert the minds of men away from the viewing of earthly affairs to a contemplation of the supernatural world. It was to result in a minimizing of worldly success in just so far as such a state would fail to conduce to spirituality in this life, and hence to after-life well-being. This contempt of the world and looking - towards a supernatural existence also appears in a continual emphasis upon the transitory nature of the present life, in contrast with the unending character of the after-life. Beyond regarding worldly success to be futile if unaccompanied by spiritual growth, according to the standards of the age, the spirit of "contemptus mundi" went

*Emerson, p.122, 1.8

so far as to deem the favors of the world to be, in most cases, detrimental to spiritual welfare, and hence, undesirable.

While there are several texts to be found in the New Testament, which seem to emphasize the importance of the life beyond death, such as the oft-quoted "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul"; which texts have been discussed at length by the Church Fathers, the "contemptus mundi" concept probably owes its origin to the pagan classics. The two outstanding exponents of "contemptus mundi" are Boethius and Innocent III.

a. Boethius was Author of "De Consolatione Philosophie".

Boethius, a Roman philosopher and statesman, lived from 480 to 524. He was very probably a pagan, or at most no practical adherent to Christianity; as is evident from his "Consolations of Philosophy". Although Christian terms such as daemones, angelica virtus, and purgatoria clementia are employed by him in this work, it is never in a Christian sense; which may indicate that, while he was not a Christian, he had associations with them. Not once does he offer any Christian belief as a source of consolation, and nowhere does the name of Christ appear; which one might expect from a Christian, especially in the ardent early days of the Church, which had been openly established during the reign of Constantine, 313 being the date of the Edict of Milan, by which full liberty

was granted to all Christians.

In any event, this work of Boethius became in the succeeding centuries, identified with Christian writings, and as such was a tremendous force in Anglo-Saxon and Middle English literature. The book was first translated from the Latin by order of King Alfred, and again, several centuries later, by Geoffrey Chaucer. Boethius is the first to stress the idea of the fickleness of fortune, which was later to appear in the "Romaunt of the Rose," at least part of which Chaucer translated, becoming very familiar with the Goddess Fortuna.

In his "Consolations of Philosophy," Boethius presents three distinct pictures of Fortuna. In the first place, he practically identifies her with the heathen, supreme Goddess of Chance, a malignant deity. Secondly, we have the depiction of a benevolent Fortuna, as she who, under the curbing of a superior God, deals out disappointment and grief. Later we learn that her deeds, and not herself, are controlled by a rational God. Again, Boethius speaks of Fate as the rim of a wheel constantly turning; the center of which is God, representing the abstract Fortuna. Regarding the fickleness of Fortuna, Boethius says:

"Fortune, when she is opposite, is more profitable to men than when she is favorable. For in prosperity, by a show of happiness and seeming to caress, she is ever false, but in adversity when she showeth herself inconstant by changing, she is ever true."*

* Boethius(Stewart) book II, section 8

Previous to Boethius, the Greek, Aristotle (384-322B.C.) makes use of Fortuna, in his discussion of fate and free will, as a figure representing the element of chance necessary for the theory of free will. This theory is refuted by Thomas Aquinas, who lived seven centuries after Boethius. He writes that Fortuna, regarded as a cause but a secondary cause, is in reality subservient to a higher and rational cause, and therefore not really "accidental". Boethius agrees with St. Augustine and St. Thomas, but maintains that chance grows out of hidden causes. He says:

"Chance allows for human free will; fate is a servant of God; and chance growing out of hidden causes is also subject to Divine Providence." *

Chaucer adopted the "wheel of fortune" concept, which he had discovered in the "Romaunt of the Rose". In his "Troilus and Criseyde" he puts into the mouth of Troilus the words: *

"Ful hard were it to helpen in this cas,
For wel finde I that Fortune is my fo,
Ne alle the men that ryden conne or go
May of hir cruel wheel the harm withstonde;
For, as hir list, she pleyeth with free and bonde."

Pandarus answers this appeal against the evil dealings of Fortune, explaining the mutability of Fortune and declares that, hence,

*Boethius (Stewart) v. Section 2.

*Chaucer (Skeat) p.13

he, who is now suffering, will soon find himself with cause for rejoicing.

"Wostow nat wel that Fortune is commune
 To every maner wight in soȝn degree?
 And yet thou hast this comfort, lo, pardee!
 That, as hir joyes moten over-goon,
 So mote hir sorwes passen everichoon.

For if hir wheel stinte any-thing to torne
 Than cessed she Fortune anon to be." *

Besides the Goddess Fortuna of Boethius, Chaucer introduces into his writings an original figure, a Christian Fortuna, shepherdess of "blinde bestes"; only executing for Him who, in his wisdom, permits suffering. She claims to be a friend to man. In the "Pleintif countre Fortune", of the "Balade of Fortune" Chaucer proposes the question of the unjust variability of fortune, and, as a solution, responds with the theory that, if a man has the right attitude towards life, adversity cannot injure him.

"But nathelas, the lak of hir favour
 Ne may nat don me singen, though I dye
 'Iay tout perdu mon temps et mon labour':
 For fynally, Fortune, I thee defye!" *

Fortune replies, explaining that every man receives his share

*Chaucer (Skeat) p.217; 119

of joy and grief, that this mutability is permitted by God for their welfare, that nothing on earth is certain, certainty being found only in heaven: *

"Lo, th' execucion of the magestee
 That al purveyeth of his rightwisnesse,
 That same thing 'Fortune' clepen ye,
 Ye blinde bestes, ful of lewednesse!
 The hevene hath propretee of sikernesse,
 This world hath ever resteless travayle."

Apart from the problems of fate, or fortune, and of free will, there exists the consideration of the function of Divine Providence, to which Boethius makes reference when he speaks of chance as being subject to it. The idea of a Supreme Being, overlooking our affairs, receives support in the biblical assertion of the hairs of the human head being numbered, and of not a sparrow falling without the knowledge of God; which concepts make the Deity at least an interested spectator. According to the Schoolmen, the Almighty is more than a looker-on; a guardian, perhaps, and one who permits us choice in every instance.

Punishment may follow a violation of one of nature's many laws, or, it may be directly permitted by the Almighty to instruct us, to curb our folly. In "Piers the Plowman",* we have Conscience preaching a sermon, in which he cites the pestilence and the violent wind of January 15, 1362 as a chastisement for the sin of pride:

"And Conscience with a Crois. com for to preche.

*Chaucer (Skeat) p.120

*(2) Piers (Skeat) p. 43

"He preide þe peple . haue pite of hem-selue,
 And preuede þat þis pestilences . weore for þuire synne,
 And þis soup-Westerne wynt . on a Seterday at euen
 Was a-perteliche for pruide . and for no poynt elles."

Pear trees and plum trees, birches, and broad oaks were uprooted from the soil, as a token of the destruction that would, one day, come upon the people, for their sins. The violent wind was intended as a warning to the people to amend their lives:

"Piries and Plomtres . weore passchet to þe grounde,
 In ensauple to Men . þat we scholde do þe better.
 Beches and brode okes . weore blowen to þe eorþe,
 And turned upward þe tayl . In toknyng of drede
 þat dedly Synne or domesday . schulde fordon hem alle."

b. Lothario di Segni was Author of "De Contemptu Mundi".

Lothario de' conti di Segni, afterwards Innocent III, expressed, in his work, "De Contemptu Mundi", which he completed while Cardinal-deacon of the urban church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, the results of his meditations upon death and upon the follies of life in the world. He says in part: *

"As the ocean is bitter and tumultuous, so does bitterness and anxiety govern our temporal existence. Nowhere, peace and

*Hurter, Geschichte Papst Innocenz des Dritten, p. 58-60

security, nowhere, repose and tranquility; everywhere fear and trembling, hardship and affliction. Grief mingles with laughter, tears with the essence of joy. Short, though life is, it is still full of misery, and on the otherhand, where do we find consolation? It [life] is worn out in labor, it is fretted away in fear, it is toiled away in suffering. The misery thereof is long, for it lasts until the end; it is discontinuous, for not a day is free from it. So is the earthly lot of man sad, for he has been born for toil...

"How many there are in this world, who never experience a spiritual sentiment and lasting joy; who adhere[^] only to fleshly and earthly pleasure. Consider, to begin with, what do we wretches do the whole day? We weave cobwebs, we lacerate ourselves, we waste away our days, pass away our time in idle endeavors, evil deeds, in carnal appetites, in material joys, in the vanity of that which is perishable.

"The whole world nearly dissolves itself in crimes and trespasses. Men rejoice over their blasphemies, and shout about their shameful deeds. But the greater the forbearance God shows, in the present, the heavier will fall his justice, in the future. However, there are times in which he sends a poor harvest and drouth as manifestations of his justice, but at the same time, of his mercy. In chastisement, he shows us his justice; in the opportunities which he opens to us, ... his compassion.

"We ask God for peace, and because of our own sins, are unable to partake of it, for the life of men is a continual temp-

tation, a thousand enemies lay snares for him everywhere, to catch him; follow upon all his ways, to kill him. Life is a military service; all about, enemies, perils. Where is the one, who has lived through even one single day of clear joy, without a guilty conscience ...?

"The greedy man is unsatisfied, tormented by unceasing care; poor, in the midst of his possessions, without sympathy; an enemy of God, of his neighbor, and of himself. He is at all times ready to demand, never prepared to give ... The greedy person and the miser resist the natural order; we are placed in this world, poor, and we shall take nothing with us, whenever we depart from this life into death.

" ... Some plan all, do all, submit to all, to earn the praise, honor, and favor of men. Thereby they attain high honors, converse in a praiseworthy manner, spend, and pay, and seek to attain, by unscrupulous means, the place they do not know how to reach honestly. ... Then comes the anguish of the separation, and before the soul departs from the body, it sees the evil, as well as the good, in the light of the cross; the former to its dismay, the latter to its encouragement. Reluctantly, the soul escapes from the body. Awful are death, and decomposition. Then what will avail treasures, banquets, the pleasures of life? Then comes the worm, who does not die, the fire that does not expend itself."

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If a just man would fall seven times a day, certainly the danger of succumbing to temptation must be considered very great. No man can be sure of persevering to the end. Due to his inherent weakness, he will not be able to continually withstand temptation. Fallen man's aptitude for sin, and need of the supernatural aid of heaven against the powers of darkness, is expressed in the penitential lyrics. These penitential lyrics are written entirely in the spirit of "contemptus mundi". Representative of them is the lyric known by the title, "Do mercy before the judgment," an appeal for the Redeemer to show his clemency, and thwart Satan, who is anxious to claim the soul the Redeemer has bought:

"We aske mercy or thou deme,
lest thou dampne þat þou hast wrought.
What joy were it the deville to queme
to yef hym thatt þu hast bought?

"This world is but likerous bitternesse
That reueth us discrecion And sight,
The fende, the flesche, fyght Ayen us,
Thus we be take in turment.
Lorde, or thy dome bi dight to us
do mercy to fore thi jugement." *

Slothfulness in God's service is due to the influence of the devil. We are told, that when people remain away from Sunday mass, or misbehave while attending it, they are undoubtedly being

*

Patterson, Penitential Lyrics, p.86

acting as they are being urged to, by the evil one. There is a tale, which illustrates very well how distractions at mass please the devil: *

"Hit is conteyned in the gestis of Athenes, that there was a holy hermit that hadd a chapelle of seint Iohan in his hermitage; and for the holinesse of the good man, and in the worshippe of seint Iohan, the knightes, ladys, & gentille women of that contrey come thedir on pilgrimage. And whanne thei were come, the ermite saide hem a masse; and as he had saide the gospelle, he turned towarde the peple & sawe hem rounne, iape, counsaile, and iangle, eche with other. And as he loked on hem and sawe her folysshe countenaunce, he was ware that there was atte eueriche of her eeres an orible fende, that wrote alle that thei saide, and loughe hem to scorne; and the blak orible fendes yede lepinge on her hedys, hornes, and riche atyre, as dothe the briddes that sittithe on trees and lepithe from brannche to braunche; of the whiche the holy ermyte was gretly abasshed and meruayled. And whan he was in the canoun of hys masse, he herde hem clatre, laughe, iangle, and borde of highe, that it was gret meruaile of the holy man, and he smote hys honde on the boke to make hem hold her pees. But there was sum that dede not, and thann sayde the ermyte to God, 'Lorde, and it be thi wille, make these folke holde her pees atte masse, and that they may know her foly.' Thanne sodenly alle they that iangeled beganne to crye lyke wode.folke oute of her mynde, that it was a piteous thinge to here. And whanne had saide masse, he tolde hem how he saw the

*Book of the Knight of La-Tour Landry p.40, 41.

fendes of helle on her hedes, hornes, and tyre, and tolde hem the perilles and the synne that it was to make suche clateringe and leude wordes, iapes, and countenaunces atte the masse."

Shrift , inasmuch as it cleanses and fortifies the soul, lessens, to a considerable extent, the power of Satan, who is extremely anxious that one should avoid, or delay shrift, so that he can retain the soul in subjection. It is, therefore, undesirable to delay shrift. One satisfies in purgatory for negligence here in shriving. "Handlyng Synne,* by way of exhortation to shrift, contains a tale of "how to put the devil's eye out " spiritually, or, how by shrift, a man made himself invisible to the fiend, who previously had him attached to a chain. The spectacle of a devil being dragged about by an unconscious victim is witnessed by a very holy hermit.

The hermit, who, by the grace of God, had the power of recognizing the innocence or guilt of those whom he met, one day stood watching the people enter a church, as he was saying his beads, against a wall. He saw various groups enter the church, some reverently, others not,

"And beheld þe folk þat come yn þe gate,
 Whyche come erlye, and whyche late,
 Whyche come with gode deuocoun,
 And whyche for ouper enchesoun;
 Alle sagh þys ermyte euerydeyl,
 Who come wrong, and who come weyl."

Among those who approached the church, the hermit perceived a man

*Handlyng Synne p. 380

CHECKED BOARD

to whom was attached a chain, and at the end of the chain was a devil, being dragged about by his unsuspecting victim. Through the church-gate and into the church-yard the man trudged, with the devil close behind him. Farther than the door of the church, the devil was unable to follow, and there burst his chain. Left without, he settled down to watch for the reappearance of his victim.

"Forþer durst he nat, for ferde.

And whan he yn-to þe cherch shuld go,

þan brast þe fendes chayn yn two;

þe fende stode styлле, and loked a-boute,

And a-bode þys man wyp- oute;

On hys clawys he helde þys cheyne,

And loked what tyme he come aȝeyne."

Among those who afterward entered the church were five who were in sin; once they were within the church, they shrived themselves. They, together with the victim of the devil, who regretted that he had not sooner taken advantage of shrift, then left the church. As he who had borne the chain emerged, the devil failed to recognize him, remaining until all were gone, and finding no one. The hermit, who had been observing what had taken place, then accosted the devil:

"Treytur, he sayd, "for what nede

Stanst þou here; telle hyt me,

Yn Goddys name, y coniure þe."

The response was, that he was waiting for his prisoner who had long

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been under his hands, and whom he had been following about. When the hermit had received this response, he thought to hear the man's story, so he ran and overtook him. The former victim of the devil explained how he had just shrived himself of a sin of long standing, and as a result, he seemed to feel strangely light:

"Y felte me charged yn a synne,
 And, long had y leye pere-ynne,
 Y þoʒgte y wulde me þer of shryue,
 And amende þe trespass yn my lyue.
 At þe cherche, y shroue me weyl,
 Plenerly of euery deyl;
 Blessed be now God almyȝt,
 Me þynkep y am wundyrly lyȝt."

Shrift injures the fiend of hell. Handlyng Synne* exhorts frequency in shrift; declaring that one should be eager to defeat the most malicious of all foes. The more often a person is shrived, the more easily he is able to withstand temptation:

"þe fourþe grace ys weyl to telle
 how shryfte shendep þe fende of helle.
 ȝy, f, þou wylt make þe deuyl shent,
 And with-sonde hys tycement,
 with no þyng mayst þou do hym so wo
 As loue ofte to shryfte go;
 þan ys he a-shamed to tempte þe,
 For þat þou bewreyyst hys pryuyte.

*Handlyng Synne II, line 12013

 "Certys we shuld haue gode wyl
 To shende hym pat wulde us spyl."

Blessed ys shryfte with God almy3t,
 For hyt confoundep þe deuy1 doun ry3t;
 God 3yue us grace þe fende to shende,
 And un- to shryfte oure wyl alle wende."

Those who had sought seclusion from the noise and confusion of the world, for a mystical life, were, as sworn enemies of the devil, the objects of his most poignant attacks. While, due to the nature of circumstances, enclosed as they were, they were less exposed to temptation in its larger phases, they were even the more exposed to the distractions of scrupulosity and discouragement. In the "Ancren Riwe",* the ecclesiastical personage who had in his charge the spiritual welfare of a certain convent, seeks, by means of a simile, to explain away such temptations:

"þe sixte kunfort is, þat ure Louerd, hwon he idoled þet we beod itented, he plaied mid us, ase þe moder mid hire 3unge deorlinge: vlihd from him, and hut hire, and let hit sitten one, and loken 3eorne abuten, and cleopien, 'Dame! dame! 'and weopen one whule; and þeonne mid ispredde ermes leaped lauhwinde uord, and clupped and cussed, and wiped his eien, Riht so ure Louerd let us one iwarden oder hwules, and widdrawed his grace, and his cumfort,

*Ten Brink p. 242

and his support, and his support, so that we find no sweetness in anything we do well, nor any satisfaction of heart. And yet he loves us at the same time, our dear Father, nevertheless, but he does it for the great love that he has for us."

The "contemptus mundi" philosophy in Middle English literature regards death as the culmination of the life-struggle between the fleshly body and the spiritual soul. Death was considered the one great crisis in the human life. The spiritual state of a man at death, would determine the character of his after-life. To have genuine sorrow for one's transgressions against the law of God or of the Church, in a spirit of remorse at having offended so good a God, was the ideal frame of mind; it would, however, be sufficient for one's eternal salvation to repent because of the fear of hell.

Since death is the great crisis in life, it is necessary to live so as to die well. The "Ayenbite of Inwit" * counsels us how to live "vor to lyerny sterve".

"þis lyf --- ne is bote a wendynge vorþope, vorþope a wendinge wel ssort." Should a man live a thousand years, that should be a mere jot in sight of the other life that will last forever without end, either in sorrow or in bliss. This is witnessed to us in the king, the earl, the prince, the emperor --- when they cry: "Our bliss is gone into wailing, our carols into sorrow; garlands, robes, playings, feastings and all goods have failed us. --- Then is living only dying --- for when thou hast begun to live, in haste thou hast begun to die."

*Emerson, Middle English Reader, p.216

"Death is but a separation of the soul and the body. The wise Catoun admonishes us:

'Let us learn, says he, to die; let us separate the spirit from the body often.' Death is to a good man end of all evils, and gateway and entrance of all good --- Separate thy soul from thy body by thought, send thy heart into the other world, that is, into heaven, into hell, into purgatory, where thou shalt see what is good and what is evil. Hell will teach you how God avenges deadly sin; purgatory shall show you how God cleanses venial sin; in heaven thou shalt see how virtues and good deeds are highly rewarded. --- Go into hell in thy living, that thou do not go in thy dying.

"And then is that life fair and honest, when one flees evil and does good, not because of fear of being destroyed, but for the desire of heaven and for the love of God and for the great cleanness that virtue has and a good life. And the same whom love impels, seeks more quickly and it costs him less, than it does him who serves God by dread.

"The hare runs, the greyhound follows him, the ^{one} ont by dread, the other by desire; the one flees, the other drives him. The holy man yearns as the greyhound that has all the day his eyes to heaven, where he seeks the prey that he drives; and therefore he forgets all other goods, as does the gentle hound when he has his pray before his eyes."

The Debate of the Body and the Soul* (c1150) introduces us in dream-style to a soul lately departed from its body under unhappy circumstances. It beholds the body, sorrowfully, and filled with fear. The soul taunts the body as having once been a famous knight,

fierce and proud as a lion. Then the body speaks, denying responsibility for their sad fate. It declares that the responsibility rested with the soul, who should have been master.

"It seide, Weile and walawo!

Wo worpe pi fleys, pi foule blod.

Wreche bodi w3y list ou so,

pat 3wilene were so wilde and wod?"

"For God pe schop after his schaft,

And gaf pe bope wyt and skil;

In pi loking was I laft

To wisse aftir pin oun wil."

The soul attempts to silence the body.

"pe gast it seyde, Bodi be stille!

3wo hap lered pe al pis wite

Yat givest me pese wordes grille

Yat list per bollen as a bite? (swollen as a bottle)

And tells the body it may very well expect to suffer when it has committed evil deeds enough to fill a pit.

"Wenest ou, wretche po thou fille

Wip pi foule fleisch a pite,

Of alle dedes thou didest ille

pat pou so .lygtli schalt be quite?"

Here the author dwells upon the physical aspects of death very much in the spirit of Contemptus mundi. Referring to the state of the body, the soul reminds it that no matter how it will deteriorate, on the day of Final Judgment they shall be reunited.

"Wenest ou nou to gete þe grip
 þer þou list roten in þe clay?
 þey þou be rotin pile and pip,
 And blowen wip þe wind away,
 3et schalt ou come wip lime and lyp
 Agein to me on domesday.

"Thou art unsemly for se,
 Uncomli for to kissen swete:
 þou ne havest frend þat ne wolde fle,
 Come þou stertlinde in þe strete."*

{ They both blame the Evil One for their plight. The soul speaks,
 declaring the body to have been in league with Satan, who tempted
 it to sin and away from penance and mortification.

"þe fend of helle þat havþþ envie
 To mankinne, and evere hap had,
 Was in us as is a spie
 To do sum god 3wan I þe bad.
 "'3wan I bad þe reste take,
 Forsake sinne ay and oo,
 Do penaunce, faste and wake,
 þe fend seide, þou schalt nau3t so,
 þus sone al þi blisse forsake,
 To live in pine and wo!"'

The author of the Debate concludes with a prayer for mercy for himself, with advice for the sinner to sincerely repent and to shrive himself, for "Never was there a sin committed so great that Christ's mercy is not much more."

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"po alle sinful I rede hem red

To schreven hem and rewen sore;

Never was sinne idon so gret

pat Cristes merci ne is wel more" *

* Emerson, p.⁴⁸_^ 56, p. 17, 25; 64, 1.5.

He (the author) is now 18
to mention his own name
and his name is not
but his name is not

II. The Medieval Attitude towards the Other-World.

A. Purgatory is a State of Purgation, of Temporal Punishment of Sin.

1. History of the Term "Purgatory".

The theology of the Church divided her children into three groups: the Church Militant, comprised of those in the flesh, the Church Triumphant, represented by those who have attained eternal life, and the Church Suffering, consisting of those souls who, until after a period of purgation, are unfit for the enjoyment of the Vision Beatific.* Repentance and absolution will remove the eternal punishment of sin, but there remains a guilt, proportionate to the fault committed, which must be satisfied for, here or in the next world. Thus there ~~Thus there~~ exists a bond of sympathy and hope between the faithful in this and in the other life.

Among the Jews in the Old Testament, belief in the existence of such a place or condition of purgation was common, although in ecclesiastical usage the term "purgatory" was officially adopted not until the pontificate of Innocent IV in the thirteenth century. The Greeks in his day complained that the doctors had not indicated "this place of purgation by an appropriate and accurate word." His decree announced that, "we will, in

*Lonergan, De Profundis, (In America, Nov. 5, 1927)

accordance with the tradition and authority of the holy Fathers, that henceforth it shall be called Purgatorium".

That the Jews believed in a state of purgation is evident, historically, in II Machabees (XII, 43-46). We are told that Judas Machabeus, after the death in battle of a number of his warriors, had their bodies buried honorably.

"And making a gathering he sent twelve thousand drachms of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, thinking well and religiously concerning the resurrection.

(For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should rise again, it would have seemed superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.)

"And because he considered that they who had fallen asleep with godliness, had great grace laid up for them.

"It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from sins." *

The existence of such a state as purgatory may be inferred from the following texts from the New Testament of the Vulgate, which was in use in the Middle Ages.

(Matt. XII, 32) It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come.

St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and Origin quote Paul (I Cor. III, 12-15)

"Now if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble:

"Every man's work shall be manifest; for the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire; and the fire

*The Vulgate.

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shall try every man's work, or what sort it is.

"If any man's work abide, which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward.

"If any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire."

Apart from Scripture, the earliest records of the western and oriental church evidence that the earliest Fathers believed, not only in the existence of such a state, but also, that it was possible to aid the souls in it by prayer, and above all, by the "sacrifice of the mass".

2. Nature of Purgatory

"In purgatorie nis no confort: bote of one pingue:
of þe hope of lōye aftur-ward: þat ore lōuerd heom
weole bringue." *

Between heaven, purgatory, and this world there exists a spiritual association of all in the same faith. Those souls in purgatory are considered to be in a state in which they can no longer merit for themselves. Condemned as they are, to severe punishment, until all stain of sin has been removed, they are clearly at the mercy of the Lord. It is believed, however, that it is possible to assist such souls by good works offered in their name, by those still upon earth, as well as by the prayers of the saints in heaven. The following lines express, but seemingly in inverse order, the efficacy of almsdeeds and of prayer for the relief of the Church Suffering:

*South English Legendary, p.422, l.53 ; 425, l.169

"Manie þingus one soule helpeþ: þat in purgatorie is;
 Ake þrec þingues heom helpeþ mest; bi-fore alle opere, i-wis;
 beden of Men, and almes-dede; singuingue of Masses al-so--
 þeos þreo þingues beoth best, i-wis; and mest guod huy wolle do."*

The "ordinary of the mass" includes an intention for the souls of the faithful departed. The Offertory, which prepares for the Consecration, of the mass, begins in the following manner:

"Receive, O holy Father, almighty and eternal God, this spotless host, which I, Thine unworthy servant, offer unto Thee, my living and true God, for my countless sins, trespasses, and omissions; likewise for all faithful Christians, whether living or dead, that it may avail both me and them to salvation, unto life everlasting."

In the "Lay Folks' Mass Book" we find in the Offertory, the people's prayer for the souls of all faithful Christians among the dead:

"Gode Lord, for thyn holi grace,
 Thu here oure praierys in this place.
 Graunt us, Lord, for this praiere,
 That cristene sowles that passeth the aiere
 Fro this lif, that synful is,
 That eche of hem haw part of þis messe,
 And fore here soules I pray inwardli,
 That I schal neuene dyuersli.
 "That this messe be hem to mede,
 Socoure, and help, in al here nede;
 Fadir and modire, and brothere sowles so dere,

*Lay Folks' Mass Book, p.43

"I have been thinking of you very much lately,"

and your letter about the matter, which I have

been thinking of ever since I received it.

I have been thinking of you very much lately,

and your letter about the matter, which I have

been thinking of ever since I received it.

I have been thinking of you very much lately,

and your letter about the matter, which I have

been thinking of ever since I received it.

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I have been thinking of you very much lately,

and your letter about the matter, which I have

been thinking of ever since I received it.

"Soster and sibbe men, and othere ifere,
 That us gode wolde, or us gode do,
 Or any kyndenesse to us haw ido,
 And to alle tho, þat in purgatori haue payne,
 Lord, this messe be mede and medecyne.

"And to alle cristene sowles holi,
 Swet lord, thu graunt thi mercy,
 For-3ew hem alle here trespasse,
 Lowse here bondes, and lete hem passe
 From alle paynes to heuene blis,
 With angeles to dwelle euere endeles."

In the Regulations of the Gild of the Holy Trinity and of St. William of Norwich (1389) we read of the manner in which the gild-day shall be kept, with provisions for a "mass of requiem" to be heard on the following morning.

"Also it is ordeyned, þet everyche broþer and syster of þis gylde, erly on morwe aftyr þe gyldeday, schal heryn a messe of requiem for alle þe brethere soules and systeren soules of þis gylde, and for alle crystene soules of þis gylde, and for alle crystene soules, at Seynt Williams auter in þe Trynte in Norwyche, and offeren a ferthyng." *

On All Souls' day, the suffering souls in purgatory were especially remembered:

"Alle soulene- day on urþe: right is to holde heiþe: For alle we schullen hebben neode þar-to: for alle we schullen deiþe." *

* Emerson, p.117, l. 120

*(2) South Eng. Legendary, p.422
 1.53

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3. Indirect Bearing of Indulgences upon Purgatory.

Any consideration of the medieval attitude towards purgatory involves the question of the use of indulgences. In "Piers the Plowman", indulgences are referred to as a means of diminishing one's purgatory. As a matter of fact, an indulgence has only an indirect bearing upon the problem of purgatory. Although in the Middle Ages there was considerable abuse of indulgences, they were instituted as neither remissions of guilt, nor of purgatory, but as disciplinary favors cancelling penalties of the Church's own imposition.

The basis of the theory of indulgences lay in that of the accessibility of the "treasury of merits", consisting of the combined and superabundant merits of Christ and of the saints. The wealth of this treasury was described by Clement VI in 1350, when he explained that these merits were at the distribution of the Church, and to be won by prayer, and penance, fasting, and psalm-singing, or in special instances, by contributing to good works. In this manner, wars were waged in Palestine; bridges, and churches constructed, and the poor relieved. This is as far as the system was carried within the jurisdiction of the Church, but here is where abuses began to creep in. The pardoners numbered a great many imposters within their ranks, who bore forged or stolen bulls, and who held themselves responsible to no one, but wandered at pleasure from diocese to diocese, ^{and} brought discredit upon the entire system, so that Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) found it necessary to warn the clergy and laity against them. They were finally abolished entirely, by a

decree of the Council at Trent.

No responsible theologian had ever taught that an indulgence could remit sin. The phrase "indulgentia a poena et a culpa" was finally adjudged to be an untheological term, and so repudiated. It occurs in "Piers the Plowman": *

"Merchauntz in þe margyne . hadden many zeres,
Ac none a pena & a culpa . þe Pope nolde hem graunte,
For þei holde nouȝt her halidayes . as hōlicherche techeth ..."

The expression "a poena et a culpa" was probably first used in the thirteenth century and was understood by the clergy, and the people as well, to mean in a general sense, the most ample indulgence the pope could grant. It is usually explained, that "culpa" referred to the extraordinary faculties which would empower a confessor to absolve in cases ordinarily reserved for the pope or the bishop, and "poena" suggested the remission of temporal punishment.* In any case, the people were taught that an indulgence, to be effective, presupposed the state of grace; that contrition and confession were necessary so that the matter of guilt, but not of satisfaction, had been disposed of, before the indulgence was received.

An indulgence is defined as the remission, in whole or in part, of the temporal punishment due to actual sins whose guilt has been forgiven in the sacrament of penance. This remission is to be made, outside the tribunal of penance, by a lawful minister, by the application of the treasures of the Church. A plenary indul-

*Piers (Skeat) p. 79

*Guggenberger. General History, p.154
Of the Christian Era

20. The religious tradition has over the years been

influenced by many factors. The process of religious change is

complex and multifaceted, involving a variety of factors.

One of the most significant factors is the influence of

the social and cultural environment in which the religion

exists. The religious tradition is not static, but dynamic,

and it is constantly evolving in response to the changing

circumstances of the world in which it lives.

Another important factor is the influence of the individual

believers. The religious tradition is not a monolith, but a

collection of diverse beliefs and practices, each of which

may be influenced by different factors.

One of the most important factors is the influence of the

religious leaders. The religious tradition is not a

passive collection of beliefs and practices, but an active

process of religious change, in which the religious leaders

play a central role. The religious tradition is not a

static collection of beliefs and practices, but a dynamic

process of religious change, in which the religious leaders

play a central role. The religious tradition is not a

static collection of beliefs and practices, but a dynamic

process of religious change, in which the religious leaders

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static collection of beliefs and practices, but a dynamic

gence is a remission of all the temporal punishment due to sin, while a partial indulgence is a remission of a part of the temporal punishment due to sin. This partial remission is reckoned by days, by quarantines, and by years. An indulgence of forty days, of seven years, etc., is such a remission of temporal punishment as would have been obtained in the primitive Church by forty days, by seven years, etc., of canonical penance.

The fact that a sin was forgiven did not do away with the necessity of satisfaction; in fact each sin accumulated the debt of the transgressor, satisfaction for which would be exacted either in this life or in the next. Since the sin had been forgiven, the nature of the punishment would be temporal, not eternal. Canonical punishment was intended to forestall or lessen the amount of an individual's debt. It usually consisted in public acts of humiliation such as the ordeal of standing by the entrance to a church, clothed in sack cloth upon which the nature of the offense committed had been specified.

There are three types of indulgences: namely, the personal, or one granted directly to persons, as for example, to members of a confraternity; local, or attached to a place such as a church, chapel, or altar; real, or one which may be attached to a portable object, as for example, to a pair of beads.

In "Piers the Plowman", we are reminded that at the Last Judgment indulgences will not make an individual's record much clearer, unless his daily life has been creditable. The point is slightly overdrawn, however, for each indulgence received would presuppose the individual's being in the "state of grace":

"At þe dredful dome . whan dede shullen rise,
 And comen alle bifor cryst . accountis to ȝelde,
 How þou laddest þi lyf here . and his lawes keptest
 And how þou dedest day bi day . þe dome wil reherce;
 A poke ful of pardoun þere . ne prouinciales lettres,
 Theigh ȝe be founde in þe fraternete . of alle þe foure ordres,
 And hauve indulgences double-folde . but if Do wel ȝow help,
 I sette ȝowre patentis and owre pardounz at one ples hele."

B. The Limbo of the Patriarchs and of Infants are included
 among the "lower places".

The medieval other-world includes, of "lower places" besides hell and purgatory, the limbo of patriarchs and the limbo of infants. It was into the limbo of patriarchs that the Lord descended, while his body rested in the tomb; there were detained the souls of all the just, whether Jews or Gentiles, who had been entirely purified from their faults. These souls were to be taken into heaven after the resurrection of Christ. The limbo of infants is a place of detention for the souls of infants { who have died without baptism, and ^{who} are, consequently, shut out from the vision of God, but while suffering the pain of eternal loss, they are free from the regret and the despair of the wicked. In the Mystery play, "Harrowing of Hell", * there is depicted the descent of Christ into limbo, considered as a section of hell.

*Piers (Skeat) p. 86

* Whitmore, Supernatural in tragedy,
 p. 160

He stands outside the gates of hell, explaining how he has bought mankind with his blood, and promises that he will soon come to rescue his friends from limbo, sending a light to announce his coming. Later, this light illuminates limbo, filling with joy the prophets who have been sorrowfully awaiting their deliverer. The gates are demolished and Christ enters, rescuing limbo from the custody of the devils. The patriarchs are led to the heavenly kingdom.

C. Hell is a State of Torture existing forever.

While purgatory is a favorite theme in the literature of the Middle English period, strange to say, hell receives very little treatment, and appears only in homiletic references to the type of punishment promised for those who disobey the laws of the Church. Although as a state, a transitory purgatory could never be expected to take the place of an eternal hell, the frequent handling of purgatory in the literature of the time destroyed much of the flavor and interest that would otherwise have been found in discussions of hell.

The notion of a hell, as well as of a heaven, exists in many pre-Christian philosophies, such as the Chaldean, Brahministic, and Buddhistic. In Latin literature we have the story of Orpheus' and of Aeneas' descent into Hades, and in the Greek, that of Ulysses' descent into the underworld, as well as the myths of Orpheus, Theseus, etc. Seneca abounds in scholarly

references to the underworld, and makes much use of the ghost element. The early English dramatists turned to antiquity for inspiration and proceeded to introduce the Senecan ornament of the supernatural. The medieval subject of hell was to receive its highest literary shaping at the hands of Dante.

For Christian sources for the existence of hell one may look to the Bible. Mention is made of hell in Isa. XXXIII, 14

Ezek. XXXI, 16, 17 and XXXII, 27, etc.

*Matt. III, 12; XXV, 41, 46

*Mark IX, 43-46, 48

*Luke VI, 7

*Apoc. 14, 10, 11; chap. 20, 10.

The distinction between the states of hell and of purgatory lies in the intensity of the sufferings involved only in so far as the eternal character of the pains endured in hell would make them ^{seem} the more unendurable. In the "Ayenbite of Inwit", or "Remorse of Conscience" (c.1340) we have an interesting treatment of hell, in allegory style. The personifications of Prudence and of Dread discuss the coming of Death.*

Dread announces the arrival, at some unknown moment in the near future, of Death who is even then on her way with a thousand devils, who bear great books in which is written a complete record of the sins which give the devils a claim upon their victim. They bring fiery hooks with which to draw the soul

* Vulgate version used. * Ayenbite (Morris) p. 264

reference to the underworld, and which was one of the great
elements. The early English dramatists turned to tragedy for
inspiration and resorted to the underworld as a source of horror
and mystery. The earliest subject of hell was the rescue
of the human liveries, coming at the hands of Dante.

For English writers the underworld is still the

last look at the world. Hell is the world of hell in

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The situation between the world of hell and the world

of hell is the situation of the underworld, which is

as far as the underworld is concerned, it is the world of hell

which is the world of hell, the world of hell, the world of hell.

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and of hell, the world of hell, the world of hell, the world of hell.

There is a world of hell, the world of hell, the world of hell.

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the world of hell, the world of hell, the world of hell, the world of hell.

out of the body, and chains to aid in reducing the soul to subjection. Dread's description of hell follows:

"'Helle is wyd / wyb-oute metinge. dyep / wyb-oute botme.
Vol of brene on-polyinde. Vol of stenche / wy-oute comparisoun.' "

Having characterized the region in regard to its physical aspect, Dread speaks of it as being full of sorrow and of bitterness with no hope of any good. The soul condemned to it hates himself and every other soul as well. "'per is zorge. per is pyesternesse. per ne is non hope of guode. non wantrokiyng of kueade. Ech pet perinne is: hateþ him 3elue: and alle opren. per ich yze3 alle manyere tormens. þe leste of alle / is more þanne þe pynen þet mo3e by y-do ine þise wordle.' "

There is, in hell, weeping and gnashing of teeth without cessation, as the soul is tormented by the "worm of conscience". There shall be no end to the torture both mental and physical. "'pere alle be uere / ssolle by uorbernd. and myd wermes ssolle by y-wasted / and na3t ne ssolle wasti. Hire wermes / ne ssolle na3t sterue. and hare ver ne ssel neure by ykuenct. No rearde ne ssel per by y-hyerd / bote. wo: wo. wo hy habbeþ: and wo hy-gredeþ. þe dyeules tormentors pyneþ. and to-gydere hy byeþ y-pyned. ne neure ne ssel by ende of pyne: oper reste.' " The author concludes by putting into the mouth of Dread words to the effect that hell is, in reality, much worse than his description has been able to make it.

out of the boat, and begins to talk to the people who are left on the shore.

There is a description of the boat and its crew.

"There is a boat / with a crew of men / and a few women."

"The boat is small / and the crew is small / and the women are few."

There is a description of the boat and its crew.

There is a description of the boat and its crew.

There is a description of the boat and its crew.

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There is a description of the boat and its crew.

D. Heaven is a State of Eternal Bliss.

To avoid hell and to attain heaven was a universal ambition. ^{sp.} Especilly in the lives of saints do passages occur, which relate in glowing terms the joys of the Eternal City, proposed as being within the reach of everyone. The homiletic piece, "The Pearl", includes a delightful description of this perfect region, with mention of the "Apocalypse". The author of "The Pearl" claims to have seen the city that John the Apostle recounts. He depicts it with the following words:

"As John þe apostel hit sy3 wyth sy3t,
 I sy3e þat cyty of gret renoun,
 Jerusalem so nwe & ryally dy3t,
 As hit wat3 ly3t fro þe heuen adoun.
 þe bor3 wat3 al of brende golde bry3t,
 As glemande glas burnist broun,
 Wyth gentyl gemme3 anunder py3t;
 Wyth bantele3 twelue on basyng boun,
 þe foundement3 twelue of riche tenoun;
 Uch tabelment wat3 a serlype3 ston;
 As derely deuyse3 þis ilk toun
 In Apocalyppe3 þe apostel John."

It is at the moment of twilight, as the moon is rising and the sun just disappeared, that the author becomes aware of a procession within this "New Jerusalem". Silently, all at once, it appears; a stream of maidens all crowned as is "The Pearl" herself, and arrayed in pearls and white garments. On each one's

breast has been fastened a lustrous pearl. They move together, beaming with happiness, a hundred thousand strong, along streets that gleam like glass. The Lamb, with seven horns of clear red gold, goes before them. He is described as wearing a benign expression, heedless of a bleeding wound close to his heart:

"Best wat3 he, blybest, & moste to pryse,

pat euer I herde of speche spent;

So worply whyt were wede3 hys;

His loke3 symple, hymself so gent,

Bot a wounde ful wyde & weete con wyse

Anende hys hert, pur3 hyde torente...

pa3 he were hurt & wounde hade,

In his semblaunt wat3 neuer sene." *

I. The Saints are Intermediaries between the Saviour and Sinful Man.

Heaven is conceived of as being the seat of the Church Triumphant, or as representing that section of the Church which consists of the saints and the angels in enjoyment of the Vision Beatific. The Old and New Testaments contain several texts which seem to refer to the status of the saints in heaven, as: *

Saints departed assist us by their prayers -- Luke XVI, 9; Apoc.V, 8
 We have a communion with them, I Cor XXII, 8
 Heb.XII, 12,22, '23
 They have power over nations, Apoc.II,26,27; chap.V, 10

* The Pearl (Skeat) p.47

* Vulgate

They know what passes among us,

Luke XVI, 10
I Cor. XXIII, 12
I John III, 2

We can seek the prayers of the servants
of God,

Exodus XXXII, 11, 14
I Kings VII, VIII-X
Job XLII, 7, 8
Rom. XV, 30
Eph. VI, 18, 19
I Thes. V, 25
Heb. XIII, 18

The intercession of the saints, as friends of the Deity, is sought for by members of the Church Militant or that portion of the Church still upon earth. In the church calender each saint had been assigned a day; while some of them were of universal interest, such as St. Joseph, and the Virgin; others were of more or less local prominence, such as Hugh of Lincoln and Thomas a Becket at Canterbury. That the feasts of the saints should be observed as occasions for honoring God, by recalling the favors he had bestowed upon them, "Ayenbite of Inwit" counsels us: (We are likewise advised to seek in prayer the aid of the saints)

"Also þer byþ y3et þe festes of hal3en / in holy
Cherche / uor to worþssipie / an uor to serui god / and herie /
and his hal3en / of þe miracles þet he dede uor ham. uor to
uestni oure beleaue. And þeruore / we ssolle þe festes of hal3en
loki / and bidde / þet 3uo moche his worssipeþ / ine heuene / and
ine erþe."

Shrines to individual saints appeared all over England, such as St. Cuthbert, at Durham, St. Hugh, at Lincoln, St. Thomas,

*Ayenbite p.213

at Hereford. In fact every cathedral and many churches had shrines of their own. Among the outstanding ones are Our Lady of Walsingham, which in popularity almost surpassed St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. Albans at Hertford. In Westminster were preserved the relics of Edward the Confessor; Chester and Bromholm had pieces of the true cross; St. Paul's, London, had a widely known rood in the churchyard; and many village churches were the objects of pilgrimages, as that of Chatham, which possessed a famous statue of Our Lady.

In contradistinction to the pilgrim who visited these shrines and then returned again to his home, there was the palmer, whose life was spent in going from shrine to shrine, subsisting by charity. In "Piers the Plowman" we have the following description of a palmer: *

"Apparailled as a paynyn . in pylgrymes wyse.
He bare a burdoun ybounde . with a brode liste,
In a withewyndes wise . ywounden aboute.
A bolle and a bagge . he bare by his syde."

The palmer invariably wore the pilgrim's "sign", or badge, attached to his hat or hung around his neck, or pinned to his outer garment.

"An hundreth of ampulles . on his hatt seten,
Signes of synay . and shelles of galice;
And many a cruche on his cloke . and keyes of Rome,
And þe vernicle bifore . for men shulde knowe,
And se bi his signes . whom he souȝte hadde. "

* Piers (Skeat) p.61

at the time of the... in fact every... and... of their own... among the... of... which is... of... and... in... presented the... of... the... of the... of the... in the... of... at the... at the... at the...

in... to the... and then... again to the... of... in... of... in "The... we have the... of a... "An... in... to... a... in... a... and a... of his...

The... were the... of... as his... of... in... signed... and... in... and... and... and... and... and...

These "signs" were a means of protecting the pilgrim from assault, giving him safe passage even among enemies. As is evident from the selection quoted above, the "signs" also specified "whom he sought hadde". Thus the crusader wore a cross; white, if he came from England; red, for France; and green for the Netherlands. A pilgrim to Rome quite frequently wore the "vernicle", or reproduction of St. Veronica's veil, although the chief shrine at Rome appears to have been the tomb of the Apostles. Chaucer speaks of the "vernicle" in connection with Rome: *

"That strait was comen from the Court of Rome

A vernicle had he ^{sweved} ~~served~~ upon his cappe."

A pilgrim to Jerusalem was recognizable by two crossed leaves of palm.

The shrines of the saints in most cases contained relics of the individuals so commemorated. The word "relic" comes from the Latin "reliquiae", which was in pre-Christian use, as a designation for some object, and especially a part of the body, which recalled or commemorated some departed saint. At Athens what was considered to be the remains of Oedipus and Theseus were given a great deal of honor. Again, the ashes of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, of Perdiccas I at Macedon, and according to the Chronicon Paschale, of the Persian Zoroaster, received much veneration.

As a means of stimulating religious zeal, the Church has permitted the moderate use of relics, images, and the like, the Council of Trent declaring that:

*Chaucer (Skeat) p. 427

"The holy bodies of holy martyrs and of others now living with Christ, which bodies were the living members of Christ and the 'temple of the Holy Ghost' (I Cor.VI, 19), and which are by Him to be raised to eternal life and to glorified, are to be venerated by the Faithful, for through these bodies many benefits are bestowed by God on man. ---

"If the clothes, kerchiefs (Acts XIX, 12), if the shadow of the saints (Acts V, 15) before they departed from this life, banished diseases and restored health, who will have the hardihood to deny that God wonderfully works the same by the sacred ashes, the bones, and other relics of the saints? This lesson learn from the dead body which having been accidentally let down into the sepulchre of Eliseus, "when it had touched the bones of the prophet, instantly came to life.(4 Kings 13, 21 and Eccles. 48,14)" *

St. Thomas and others of the Church Fathers explained , that veneration extends beyond the physical objects, such as the bones, the ashes, to the saints themselves, speaking of miracles taking place through these sacramentals as "miracles in the presence of relics."

The use of relics would naturally involve, on the part of the authorities, a strict consideration of the authenticity of the articles proposed as relics. Such a process of elimination of questionable relics was carried on at the ecclesiastical centers, but this could not prevent the circulation among the people of faked relics, the manufacture of some enterprising and unscrupulous person. Even in Augustine's day, such proved troublesome. Chaucer refers to a vagabond pardoner who bore false, sacrilegious relics:

"A poore person dwelling up-on lond,
 Up-on a day he gat him more moneye
 Than that the person gat in monthes tweye.
 And thus with feyned flaterye and japes,
 He made the person and the peple his apes." *

2. The Angels partake of the Joy of Heaven.

The saints dwell in heaven in company with the angels, who are, though in themselves perfect creatures, nevertheless as created, a rank below men, due to the fact that they cannot merit as may men. Once more we may turn to the Bible as a source for the type:

That angels have a charge over us,	Matt. XVIII, 10
	Heb. I, 14
	Exod. XXIII, 20, 21
	Psalm XC, 11, 12, etc.

That they offer up our prayers for	Apoc. VIII, 4
us and pray for us,	Zach. I, 12
	Heb. XII, 22

The angels were arranged in three hierarchies of three orders each, first, the seraphim, cherubim and thrones; second, the dominions, virtues, and powers; third, the principalities, archangels, and angels. Originally there was a tenth order, which ranked above the seraphim and thrones. The "Lecht Berinde" fell with Lucifer, its elder, when he "brake buxumnesse", and it is supposed to have taken it nine days to fall into the pit of hell. The author of "Piers the Plowman" tells the story of their creation

*Chaucer(Skeat) p.428

"A poor creature dwelling in a hole."

Up on a day he got into some mischief.

Then that the garden and its garden were.

And there with things strange and queer.

It made the garden and the garden his eyes."

1. The garden garden of the top of the garden.

The garden garden is garden in garden with the garden.

the garden, garden in garden garden garden garden garden.

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for the garden.

That garden garden garden garden garden garden garden garden.

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and of their fall:

" --- Criste kingene kyng . kni3ted ten,
 Cherubyn and seraphin . suche seuene and an othere,
 And gaf hem my3te in his maieste . þe muryer hem þou te;
 And ouer his mene meyne . made hem archangeles,
 Tau3te hem bi þe Trinitee . treuthe to knowe,
 To be buxome at his biddyng . he had hem nou3te elles."

The beauty of the angels is spoken of in the "Ayenbite of Inwit"* as imperishable; such is the beauty of a soul in the state of grace;

"þe nayrhede of þe zaule: is nayrhede ari3t / þet alneway wext
 and neure ne ssel fayly. þet is þe 3oþe uayrhede / hueruore
 þe zaule to god likeþ / and to þe angles þet y3eþ þe herte."

In "The Pearl", the heavenly kingdom is depicted as containing legions of angels singing together, and casting sweet incense:

"Lgyounes of aungeles togeder uoched
 þer kesten ensens of swete smeles.
 þen glory & gle wat3 nwe abroched;

þe steuen mo3t stryke þur3 þe urþe to helle,
 þat þe Vertues of heuen of joye endyte." *

*The Pearl (Osgood) p.12

*Ayenbite, p.81

* The Pearl (Osgood) p.48

one of these cells:

--- Outside electric light, hanging from

the ceiling and electric fan, which is not in use.

And the door is in the center. The door is not

and over the door is a small window.

Inside of the window, there is a small

to be seen of the window. It has not been

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The center of the window is made of the

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III. The Mystical Life was a Product of the Spirit of "Contemptus Mundi".

The spirit of "contemptus mundi" fostered a mystical theory of life; a turning away from earthly preoccupations to a contemplation of spiritual or supernatural principles. The existence it favored was one of seclusion; according to circumstances, a seclusion either actual or merely mental. On the one hand there would be the enclosed life afforded by communities such as the Benedictines, or again, by the solitary hermit's cell, as over against the unenclosed but "interior existence" in the world; an existence which is motivated by mystic purposes, such as was the life of St. Francis of Assisi and of St. Dominic. The most important socially, of these three interpretations of the mystical life was perhaps that exemplified by the monastery. It is to the monastery, and in particular to the Benedictines, that we owe the development of schools and of libraries.

The Dominicans and Franciscans were called Mendicant orders because of their work among the people. These friars, or freres, lived in the midst of the poor; always in the poorest section of the towns, where beggars, lepers, and the needy^were to be found. Francis of Assisi was an Italian who lived from 1182 to 1226, and Dominic a Spaniard, contemporary with him. The Franciscans, known as the grey friars, started their work in England in 1224, and the Dominicans or Black friars made a beginning there in 1221. They lived a life of self-negation, humility, and service. Although these foreign friars were accustomed to a climate which was warmer than that of England, they went about barefoot even in

which."

The spirit of "Gothicism" which "restored a spiritual

theory of life; a turning away from earthly preoccupations to a

contemplation of spiritual or supernatural principles. The influence

it favored was one of asceticism; according to its principles, a material

rather than of merely material. In the end there would be the

enrichment of the spirit by contemplation and the transcendence of

earth. By the twelfth century, the spirit, as we have seen, the spiritual

but "material existence" in the world; an existence which is material

by its very nature, even as the life of St. Francis of Assisi and of

St. Dominic. The most important principle of these three movements

of the spiritual life was perhaps that exemplified by the monastic

life in the monastery, and in particular to the Benedictines, that as the

the development of society and of literature.

The Dominicans and Franciscans were called mendicant

because of their work among the people. These friars, or monks, lived

in the midst of the poor; always in the poorest section of the town,

their beggars, lepers, and the dead, and the poor. The spirit of social

and an Italian who lived from 1180 to 1250, and founded a hospital, can

compare with him. The Franciscans, known as the grey friars, founded

their work in England in 1224, and the Dominicans or Black friars made

a beginning there in 1221. They lived a life of self-denial, poverty,

and service. Although these foreign friars were so devoted to a mission

which was warmer than that of England, they were about 1200 years in

winter, all except the sick and infirm, making not unusually, foot-prints stained with blood. Another prominent mendicant order was that of the Carmelites or "white friars", following a rule far stricter than that of St. Dominic or St. Francis. The Carmelites were highly thought of by the people. While the Dominicans were known as the "order of preachers", ^{and} the Franciscans credited as apostles in social service, the Carmelites were associated with the work of education. For their foundation at Oxford they received a grant from the House of Lancaster, with which they were favorites.

One order omitted

^ The monastery in early medieval England was, as an institution in the eyes of the clergy and laymen alike, a spiritual warehouse. The monk was looked upon as being wealthier than the king, in that the office of monk was rich in opportunities for spiritual wealth; (and the hermit was considered as being even more apart from worldly occupations than the monk). The monastery as such becomes sort of a spiritual public utility, and the monk credited with vast powers for good, for his prayers and sacrifices benefit souls and effect their delivery from the tyranny of evil influences. These are the motives primarily moving the English kings to establish monasteries within their realm; to experience divine favor and to lessen the influences of evil spirits. To found a monastery in memory of an individual was looked upon as an invaluable memorial. In the metrical romance of "Havelok"* we learn that Havelok, once he has surmounted innumerable obstacles to the possession of his father's kingdom, and after the traitor, Godard, has been dully punished, establishes a priory of "black" monks as a memorial to Grim, his friend in misfortune, ~~then~~ dead.

"þo swor Havelok he sholde make

*Havelok (Skeat) p. 85

"Al for Grim, of moneken blake
 Aprioie to seruen in ay
 Iesu Crist, til domesday."

English literature following the Norman Conquest was to be affected by the domestic influences of the idealism of chivalry, and of the mysticism of the cloister. The mysticism of the Middle English period expressed mental yearnings in terms of earthly love. It was an emanation of scholasticism, a tendency encouraged by the School of Hugo de St. Victor which was influencing Oxford as well as Paris.* The "Luve Ron" of Thomas de Hales, written in the earlier part of the reign of Henry III presents the theme of the realization of the perfect love of a union with Christ. This is the theme peculiar to the biographies of the saints.

The appearance of biographies of the saints supported the movement towards convent life; "Hali Meidenhad" and "Lives of the Saints" being the models for numerous other similar works. The love motive found in Anselm and Hugo de St. Victor first appears in the "Ancren Riwe" and "Hali Meidenhad". In the "Luve Ron" it is heightened by reference to the uncertainty of "life in the world":

"Mayde her þu myht biholde,
 þis worldes luue nys bute o res,
 And is by-set so fele-volde
 Vikel and frakel and wok and les;
 þeos þeines þat her weren bolde
 Beop aglyden, so wyndes bles;

*Cambridge History of English Literature, I, p.259

"As for this, of course, it is

likely to be in the

last of the series."

English literature following the Norman Conquest was in

the process of the gradual extinction of the English language, and

the extinction of the English language. The extinction of the English

period expressed itself in the form of a new language. It was in

the extinction of the English language, a language, according to the

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"The appearance of the English language of the English language"

Under molde he liggeb colde,
And faleweb so dop medewe gres."

The "interior", unenclosed existence is illustrated in the tale of Pers, the converted usurer, a man typical of the "contemptus mundi" philosophy in that ^{he} the foresook the world for the welfare of his soul: "Pers was a toll-collector, a very covetous and avaricious person, gathering pennies into store, as usurers everywhere do. It befell upon a day, that poor men sat in the way, in the heat of the sun, as Pers came forth." They referred to him as one who never did good; no poor man had ever found him charitable. Harsh and stingy though he was known to be, one of them laid a wager that he would have some good of Pers. This man went to meet Pers, who was having transported to his home a basket of bread which was loaded upon an ass. The request for alms so angered Pers that he hastily stooped down to find a stone, and happening to find none, took a loaf and fired it at the poor man. The latter, taking it, ran back to his doubting companions.*

It befell that on the third ^{day} after this incident, Pers became very ill. As he lay in bed it seemed to him that he was brought to judgment, and very much ashamed, was shown every wicked deed that he had committed since he had arrived at the age of reason. On the one side stood men who would save him if it were possible, but they could find only one item to his credit, the loaf of bread which he had given with ill-will. This they weighed against his wicked deeds, and very strangely enough, the one loaf of bread made even balance. Then the

*Handlyng Synne, Pt.I., p.185

Underneath the light of day.

And I believe we had a very good time.

The "Interior", a somewhat extensive is illustrated in the

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"Hendry's Game, P.I., 1.155

fair men turned to Pers, advising him to profit by that lesson as to the supernatural value of alms-giving and of poverty.

"Ȝyf þou be wys, nou þou leres,
How þys lofe þe helpeþ at nede
To tylle þy soule wyþ almes dede."

Pers thought a great deal upon this dream, saying,
"Blessed be alle pore men
For God Almyȝty loueþ hem." He took all his possessions and gave them to the poor. Not content with this, he sent for his clerk who happened to be his notary, and offered him ten pounds for selling him into bondage to anyone provided he were a Christian; giving the ransom to poor men, to the last farthing. A certain rich man bought Pers, setting him to work in his scullery. It was in vain that the king had messengers search the kingdom for his valued usurer. Pers had adopted a life of penance, thereby altering both his appearance and his demeanor. He became slim, gentle, and willing to take the insults of those about him, and particularly of his former companions. The general public considered him mad. His employer, however, was so favorably impressed that he offered Pers his freedom, which offer Pers, after a vision of the Lord, refused. Christ had encouraged him to continue in the life of self-denial which he had undertaken, with the following words:

"'Be nat sorowful to do penaunce,
I am wiþ þe yn euery chaunce.'" *

*Handlyng Synne, Pt. I, p.190

The mystical life is likewise illustrated in the "Life of St. Alexius". * The story of St. Alexius tells us that he was an excellent youth, quick to learn, a good fighter, and a man of prayer. He is married, against his will, to a lady of his father's choice. Alexius exhorts his wife to continue to live a virgin after his departure. He plans to go on a pilgrimage. When he has given away all his possessions, he sets out for Syria, where he lives in complete poverty, with beggars. His parents weep for him while his friends search everywhere for him, failing to recognize him when they meet him. He dwells in Syria seventeen years; until his holiness is made known to the people. He then flees to Gallacia, { and afterwards, elsewhere, then his ship encounters a storm and is driven to his native Rome. There Alexius disguises himself, and asks alms of his father. He receives a home from his parents, who do not know their lost son is with them, but is mal-treated by the servants. Unknown, he continues to dwell at home, and finally, feeling the approach of death, he writes an account of his life. Then, one day, a voice from heaven foretells his death to the people. His father is questioned and, torn with anxiety, rushes to the beggar's quarters. He finds his son dead, with his life-story clutched in his hands. The emperor in vain attempts to remove it; only the Pope is able to take possession of it.

*Life of St. Alexius (Furnivall)

The question of the...
of St. Michael's...
an excellent...
proper...
choice...
after the...
given...
lives...
with the...
his...
his...
and...
given...
even...
to...
reversal...
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then...
his...
another's...
placed...
only...

Life of St. Michael's

IV. Experiences of the Individual with the Supernatural in:

A. Miracles.

About the supernatural phenomena of which we have mention in the Bible, and especially in the New Testament, there was accumulating, in the Middle English period, a wealth of miracle- narrative.^{S.} { Many of these miracles were associated with the death of some one conspicuous for the sanctity of his life. At death, his body and personal belongings would be reverently preserved by his associates. If he were later canonized, which official recognition would come only after a delay of several decades, as the process of canonization moves cautiously, and is concluded only upon the accepted proof of three "first class" miracles, ~~Thereafter~~ when a foundation was named in the honor of this individual, it would be considered desirable to obtain for it a relic of the saint.

Miracles make there appearance very early in English religious history. Concerning Augustine it is written that, in his introduction of Christianity into Kent, to strengthen his position he resorted to the healing of a blind man, (but a warning came from Pope Gregory against the advisability of appealing very much to miracles in work among the pagans). In Anglo-Saxon literature, miracles occur with considerable frequency. Christian England was fast becoming a setting for numerous shrines, and especially with the outstanding ones, such as St, Thomas at Canterbury, were miracles early associated. Mention of miraculous happenings occurs in the reports of pilgrims and palmers, as well as in didactic literature such as Handlyng Synne.

In his "Handlyng Synne", Robert Manning describes the miracles wrought through Pers, who has abandoned his life as a usurer to become a voluntary slave. Pers is about to flee from his master's home because the king's messengers have at last discovered ^{their} his employer. We are told that the porter who permits Pers to flee had been deaf and dumb from birth,*

"But purgh þe grace of swete Ihesu,
Was shewed, for Pers, feyre vertu. (great miracle)
Pers seyð, 'Late me furþ go.'
þe porter spak, and seyde 'o'
He þat was def, and dounbe also,
Spak, whan Pers spak hym to."

The porter went up to the hall and spoke to the master, for the first time in his life, "þys merveylye tolde hem alle,
How þe squyler of the kechyn,
Pers, þat hap woned here yn,
He asked leue, ryȝt now late,
And went furþ at þe ȝate."

The porter explained how the miracle occurred:

"'For, what tyme he tō me spak,
Out of hys mouþ me þoghte brak
A flamme of fyre bryght and clere;
þe flamme made me bope y may,
Blessed be God and Pers to day!'"

*Handlyng Synne.I, p.191

in his "Handing Stone", Robert Kennedy described the
situation with the Kennedy family and how it was as a
man to become a political figure. But in such a time
his family's home became the king's messenger and at last
discovered his identity. He was told that his father and mother
were in this and had been with him since."

But though he was at home there,
and showed, but not, Robert Kennedy
and says, "I am not a man."
he never again, and never again
he was not, and never again
back, when they were in."

The court went up to the hall and to the garden, looking
first time in his life, "The people were not
to be surprised at the reason,
there, but not would the
be asked him, just now late,
the reason at the time."

The father explained for the first time,
"But, what was it to be?"
and of his word as people with
a lifetime of love and care;
he then said he was a man,
blinded by his own love to see."

The metrical romances of the Middle English period are sometimes motivated by supernatural phenomena. In "Havelok the Dane", for instance, we have the royalty of the boy Havelok manifested to his would-be murderers, who are about to carry out the usurpers' designs, by means of symbolical lights. Grim's wife arises in the middle of the night, to carry out their design; the child is to be awakened and dressed preparatory to drowning. She suddenly perceives in the dark a light shining about the boy, which light symbolizes the fact that Havelok is royal and will one day rule:*

"As she shulde hise clopes handel
 On forto don, and blawe þe fir,
 She saw þer-inne a liht ful shir
 Also briht so it were day,
 Aboute þe knaue þer he lay,
 Of hise mouth it stod a stem
 As it were a sunnebem;
 Also liht was it þer-inne
 So þer brenden cerges inne."

Once this light has revealed the identity of the boy to Grim, he plans to elude the commission which he has received from Godard, the usurper. Later on in Havelok's life, at a moment when he is being protected by the powerful duke, Ubbe, his identity is once more established by illumination. Havelok has been wounded, and anxiety for his welfare has caused his host to visit him at night. Ubbe finds a great light in the bower where Havelok lay:*

*Havelok (Skeat) p.22; 71

"So stod ut of his mouth a glem,
 Riht al swilk so þe sunne-bem;
 þat al so liht was þare, bi heuene!
 So þer brenden serges seuene
 And an hundred serges ok." (cerges-candles)

²
 Ubbi calls his knights to view the marvel, which in a moment is
 augmented; as Havelok turns in the bed and there becomes visible
 on his shoulder a cross.

"So weren he war of a croi³ ful gent
 On his riht shuldre, swiþe briht,
 Brihter þan gold ageyn þe liht;
 So þat he wiste, hey and lowe,
 þat it was kunrik þat he sawe.

It sparkede, and ful brihte shon
 So doth þe gode charbucle-ston,
 þat men se mouhte, by þe liht
 A peni chesen, so was it briht."

B. Visions.

The saint' lives of the Middle English period are replete
 with accounts of miracles, and with actual physical encounters with
 devils. They presuppose the infinite power of God and the eternal
 value of the individual. The vision-type, which was to receive its
 final shaping at the hands of Dante, was a popular form of literature.
 For sources, we may look to the Apocalypse and to the Apocropha;

the latter a document disclaimed by the Church;

*Hell fire is mentioned in Mat.V, 22; XVIII,8, 9; and XXV,41, etc.

The Pit " " " Is.XIV,15; Rev. IX,1,etc.

Lake of fire " " Rev.XX,14, etc.

Devils " " LukeIV,41; VIII,30; IX,41

MarkI,32,34b,39; III,22; IX,17

Rev.IX,20; XII,9; XVI, 14

Judgment " " IIPeter III,10,12

The earliest English visions are those of Furseus and Drithelm, and are recorded by Bede.* The Middle English vision contains very concrete portrayals of the other-world. The "Vision of St. Paul"(c.1300) is the oldest of the four redactions in Middle English. All four present a gruesome picture of the fate of the damned. Sinners are pictured as attached in various ways to burning trees, before the very gate of hell. A bridge arches the place of torment and over it the righteous pass without mishap, while the wicked fall into the flood below. Souls are undergoing torture by boiling pitch, coiled serpents, etc.

In the "Vision of Tunsdale"(1149, Eng. version) an Irish nobleman, who is of heroic build but of a cruel and fickle temperament, is one day after an altercation with a friend seemingly visited by death. From a Wednesday to a Saturday he experiences the tortures of hell.

Sir Owain in "St. Patrick's Purgatory"(last quarter of the

* St. James version.

13th century) visits a church established by St. Patrick, beneath which there is an entrance to purgatory.

The "Vision of the Monk of Eynsham", by Adam tells of how, in 1196 a young religious of Eynsham lay in a trance from the night before Good Friday until Easter Eve, during which time he was admitted by St. Nicholas to a view of purgatory.

The "Vision of Thurkill" is related by a Ralph of Coggeshall. The revelation was made to a husbandman of Essex in the year 1206 by St. Julian. Purgatory is depicted, with a group of fiends enjoying the plight of the prisoners, among whom is an acquaintance of Thurkill's who died the year before; he is made to act as in life, pleading and accepting bribes which he is then forced to swallow.

The "South English Legendary" contains the "Disputisoun by a Cristenemon and a Jew". A dispute takes place in Paris between a Christian man of England and a Jew. The Jew wagers three tuns of wine with the Christian that he can show him the crucifixion scene. The Christian for this sight is willing to renounce his faith for that of the Jew's. On the following morning he says his matins and sings his Mass, planning to carry the Blessed Sacrament with him, knowing that there could be no fiend from hell to withstand the Lord. The two men arrive at a hill. There the earth opens, displaying a path, which they take until they come to a street paved with gravel. Finally they reach a beautiful dwelling. The narrative in Middle English is as follows:

"For heo wenten on þe feld
 To an hul þei biheold
 þe eorþe cleuet as a scheld
 On þe grounde grene.

"Sone fond þei a stih
 þei went þer-on radly;
 þe cristene mon hedde ferly
 What hit mihte mene.

"After þat stiȝ lay a strete,
 Clene I paueð wiþ grete
 þer was erbes growen grene
 Spices springe betwene."

The "maner" at which the Christian and the Jew arrive is more like the castle described in romances than the mansion of the heavenly city:

"þei fond a maner þat was meete
 Wiþ murpes ful schene,
 Wel coruen and wrought
 Wiþ halles heiȝe uppon loft
 To a place weore þei brouht
 As paradys þe clene.

"On uche a syde of þe halle
 Pourpul, pelure and palle;
 Wyndouwes I þe walle
 Was wonderli I wrouht.

After the death of the king
The king of the kingdom
The king of the kingdom
The king of the kingdom

The king of the kingdom
The king of the kingdom
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After the death of the king
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"þer was dosers on þe dees
 Hose þe cheef wolde ches,
 þat neuere ricchere wes
 In no sale souht."

The two men are welcomed with merriment and offered rich foods which, however, they wisely refuse to accept. There then becomes visible a cross with a crucified one, with the Virgin Mary, John, and some of the other apostles standing nearby. The wounds of the body on the cross begin to bleed; then the Jew claims to have succeeded in his intention. The Christian immediately brings forth the Host, which he is carrying with him. The figure on the cross is transformed, and rushes from the now-darkened building. The Christian and the Jew are once more standing upon the hill they had entered. The Jew, overwhelmed by what he has witnessed, readily admits that he has been collaborating. He expresses a desire to become a Christian.

C. Apparitions.

The apparition, as distinguished from the vision, may be considered to include the ghost-element in Middle English literature. In Goldenham's "Herodes" (1567), a ghost appears in the prologue. Mariamne, a former wife of Herod, arrives from the lower world to avenge herself upon Herod, over whom she seems to have a malign influence. In the "Awnþyrs of Arthur", an alliterative poem, (1350-1400), the ghost of Guinevere's mother is seen during a hunt.

As, screaming and moaning, the ghost makes its appearance, the sun has become suddenly obscured; all is pitch black. The ghost is a forbidding sight, frightening away the hounds and the birds. There is emphasis laid upon bodily corruption in the description of the ghost: *

"Bare was the body, and blake to be bone,
 Al bi-clagged in clay, uncomly cladde;
 Hit waried, hit waymet as a womane,
 But on hilde ne on huwe no heling hit hadde."

In reply to Gawain's bold questioning, she describes the tortures of hell, and decries the suddenness of death.

Very often the apparition is made to serve didactic purposes. In saints' lives we read of apparitions of the devil, of the Virgin, or of Christ. In a life of St. Margaret we are told how a devil, brother of Belial, appeared to her in response to prayer;

"And there came out of a corner hastily towards her a wicked wight of hell in a dragon's form so hideous ~~that it~~ terrified them when they saw it. That unseemly one glistened as if he were overgilt. --- In his horned head on either side, and on his high hooked nose, thrust smouldering out, exceeding bad in taste, and from his spluttering mouth sparkled fire out, and out went his tongue, so long that he swung it all about his neck. ... He stretched himself, and stirred towards towards this meek maiden, and yawned with his wide jaw upon her ungainly, and began to crook and to crane out his neck, as if he would swallow her altogether."

Margaret prayed for aid. "Thereupon the dragon rushed upon her

*Whittemore, Supernatural in tragedy.

*Schofield, p.391

instantly and set his sorry mouth, unmeasurably mickle on high over her head, and reached out his tongue to the fringe of her and made her vanish into his belly. But in Christ's honor and to his (the devil's) damage, the rood-token, with which she was weaponed, saved her, became his bane, so that his body burst to pieces amid-hips, and the blessed virgin, wholly unmarred, went out his belly, glorifying God in heaven."

D. Dreams

The two sources of dream literature are Macrobius' "Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis", and the "Romaunt of the Rose", at least part of which Chaucer translated. Macrobius * has classified those visions that occur in sleep into five groups, namely: somnium, visio, oraculum, insomnium, and phantasma or visum. The first two foretell events; the first needs to be interpreted; the second needs no interpretation, but comes to pass as "dreamed"; the third presents an infallible announcement by priest or other sacred person; the last two represent common sleep disorders, and are meaningless. St. Augustine reproduces this classification unchanged but for the attribution of the insomnium to humors in the blood, and to vapors arising from the stomach.

The visio comes to be divided into three types; namely, Visio corporale, which presupposes the subject to be awake and susceptible to sense-impressions.

Visio spiritale, taking place in sleep or in a trance; impressions of supernatural origin upon the senses.

*Curry, Chaucer and the Individual sciences p.213

Visio intellectuale, the mental perception, directly and intuitively by the intellect of divine mysteries.

Visio corporale and visio spiritalis correspond to forces exerted by good and evil spirits.

One finds an early example of the visio spiritalis in the Passion play, in the dream of Pilate's wife, Percula. We are presented with a domestic scene between Pilate and his wife; each drinking the other's health. Then Percula retires with her son, as evening draws on, while Pilate rests until the moment of Christ's trial arrives. Satan enters Percula's bedroom, intending to prevent the execution of Christ, declaring that such an event to be detrimental to his power. He whispers to the sleeping Percula that Christ is innocent and that therefore, she should ask her husband to use his influence towards an acquittal. Percula awakes and sends her son to Pilate with the request, just as Caiphas and Annas have brought Christ to Pilate. Her dream, however, is not heeded, for they say that Christ has inspired it by witchcraft.

The visio spiritalis appears again and again as a motive in bringing about the conversion of sinners, as Pers the usurer, or in inducing men and women to renounce the world for hermitage or monastery. We are told that ^{Adilhu} Abbot of Cluny, was very fond of Virgil until one night he dreamed of a marvelous antique vase, which when he started to handle, revealed itself to be full of writhing serpents. He henceforth became one of the few abbots who felt duty-bound to sacrifice the pagan classics. *

The "Story of Joseph", a paraphrase of the Scripture story,

*Davis, Life on a Medieval Barony, p.335

founded on the 'Historia Scholastica' of Petrus Comestor (1169-1175) contains an example of Macrobius's somnium. Joseph has been cast into prison by Putifar, and there meets two former servants of the king: *

"On þat þe kinges kuppe bed,
And on þe made þe kinges bred."

The author tells us that these servants were troubled by unhappy dreams.

"Hem drempte dremes boðen o nigt,
And he wurdæn swiðe sore ofrigt."

Joseph waits upon them at table and noticed their gloomy mien,

"He herde hem murnen, he freinde forquat;
Harde dremes ogen awold þat."

He asks them to tell him their dreams, adding,

"'Queðerso it wurdæ softe or strong,
De reching wurd on God bilong.'"

The first explains how he has dreamed of standing at a winetree that had grown three boughs; first it bloomed, and afterwards bore three ripe berries. He was holding in his hand the king's cup into which he pressed the berries, and brought it to Pharaoh to drink. Joseph tells him that it is a good dream.

"'Good is', quað Ioseph, to dremen of win,
Heilnesse and blisse is derin.'"

And he correctly foretells that in three days, this man shall be restored to his former office of butler to the king. The baker tells Joseph how he dreamed of carrying three baskets of bread and other

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food fit for the king's table; but fowls alighted on him and he was unable to protect either himself or the food. To this unfortunate man Joseph foretells execution on a cross, three days thence.

The "Story of Joseph" contains yet another dream incident. While Joseph is yet in prison, Pharoah dreams of standing by a stream out of which came seven cattle, fat and large, and also seven lean cattle, which attacked the fat ones, devouring their feet. At another time Pharoah dreams of seven fat ears on a large stalk, and close by them, seven lean ears on a wilted and drought-destroyed stalk. The king is troubled by these dreams, and seeks for an interpreter. Then the butler remembers Joseph whom he has left in prison. Joseph is sent for by the king and explains the dreams as representing seven lean years to follow upon seven prosperous ones, and advises the King to lay in stores of corn for the approaching famine. These dreams are fulfilled.

"Handlyng Synne" gives the following advice against the habit of trusting in dreams; however dreams are not always meaningless: *

"Beleue nouȝt moche yn no dremys,
 For many be nat but gleteryng glemys.

 piſe clerkys ſeyn þat hyt ys vanyte,
 þat nouȝt ys, ne neuer ſhal be;
 And ofte mayſt þou fynde hyt ryght
 þat þou haſt mete upon þe nyght.

*Emerson, p. 23

*Handlyng Synne, Pt.I, p.14

But þerof to haue mochyl affyaunce
 þe may betyde þe sunner a chaunce."

Chaucer represents all points of view regarding dreams. He makes Pandarus in the "Troilus and Criseyde" a skeptic who will accept no dreams whatever as bearing upon future events, while Troilus tends to interpret each one literally. Chaucer's translation of the "Romaunt of the Rose" begins with the following lines expressing the opinion that men need not regard every dream as meaningless; it is only afterwards that the truth would be apparent.

"Many men seyn that in swevenings
 Ther nis but fables and lesinges;
 But men may somme swevenes seen,
 Which hardly ne false been,
 But afterward ben apparaunte." *

In the "House of Fame", Chaucer discusses Macrobius' classification. He says it is strange how some dreams are fulfilled and others not at all. As to their causes he makes several suggestions; over-study, emotional unrest, a full or an empty stomach, feebleness of brain, or as he adds as a final thought, by spirits:*

"Or if that spirits have the might
 To make folk to dreme a-night."

In the "Troilus and Criseyde" Pandarus puts dreams into one class with "augery of fowls"; folk superstitions concerning the shriek of the raven or the hooting of an owl:*

*Chaucer(Skeat) p.1, 326; 304

the point of view of the author.

It may be said that the author is a Jew.

However, the author is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

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He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

In the "Jews of the East", the author is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

In the "Jews of the East", the author is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

He is a Jew, but he is not a Jew.

"Wel worth of dremes ay thise olde wyves,
 And treweliche eek augurie of thise fowles;
 For fere of which men wenen lese her lyves,
 As ravenes qualm, or shryking of thise oules.

To trowen on it bothe fals and foul is.

Allas, alas so noble a creature

As is a man, shal drede swich ordure! " (rubbish)

E. Witchcraft.

Among the English folk of the Middle English period there was a survival of prehistoric folk superstitions and fancies. One frequently comes across allusions to witchcraft. In the "Debate of the Owl and the Nightingale" the nightingale accuses the owl of having obtained her wisdom through dark processes:

"'Wat!' heo seide, 'hule, artu wod?

pu 3eolpest of seolliche wisdom,

pu ,nus, test wanene he þe come,

bute hit of wiccheecrafte were.

þar-of þu, wrecche, moste þe shere

3if þu wult among manne b, eo,;

oper þu most of londe fleo.

For alle þeo þat þer-of cuþe

heo uere i-furn of prestes muþe

amanset.'"

and arrived at the house of the
the following day and the
for the first time in the
as the first of the series.

The house on the left side of the

house, after the house of the

house of the house of the house

3. The house

The house of the house of the house

There was a number of people in the house and the

The house of the house of the house

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In the "Debate of the Body and the Soul"* the body complains that the soul has led it into sin, specifying witchcraft:

"'Ne toc I nevere wycheecraft,
 Ne wist I 3wat was god nor il,
 Bote as a wretche dumb and daft,
 Bote as tou taugtest me pertil.'"

In John Myrc's "Instructions for Parish Priests" (c.1400) ,
 { the cleric is bidden to prohibit witchcraft and sorcery among
 the people:

"Wycheecraft and telynge,
 Forbede þou hem for any þynge;
 For whoso beleveth in þe fay
 Mote beleve thus by any way."

If the people insist on the existence of fairies, one tells them that it is a scheme of the devil to destroy the religious faith of the faithful,

"That hyt is a sleghþe of þe del
 þat makeþ a body to cache el;
 þenne syche beleve he gart hem have,
 þat wycheecrafte schale hem save,

"So wyth charmes and wyth tele
 He is ibro te a eyn to hele.
 þus wyth þe fende he is iblende,
 And þys byleve is ischende." *

*Emerson, p.125

In the "Journal of the Royal Society" the following

conclusions have been reached: that the "Journal of the Royal Society" is the only

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"Handlyng Synne"*contains the following admonition as to the folly of practising witchcraft; looking into crystals, fortune-telling, trafficking with the devil, and enticing children into the practice of magic:

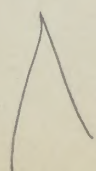
"3yf þou euer þurgh folye
 Dydyt ouȝt do nygromauncy
 Or to þe deuyl dedyst sacryfyse
 þurgh wychcraftys asyse,
 Or any man ȝaf þe mede
 For to reyse þe deuyl yn mede,
 For to telle, or for to wrey,
 þyng þat þe was don away.

"3yf you yn swerd, oder yn bacyn
 Any chylde madyst loke þeryn
 Or yn þumbe, or in cristal,--
 Beleue nouȝt yn þe pyys cheteryng
 Hyt ys no troude, but fals beleuyng."

Many people believe in the magpie:

"Many beleuyn yn þe pye
 Whan she comþ lowe or hye
 Cheteryng, and hap no reste,
 þansey þey we shul haue geste.
 Many trowyn on here wyllys,
 And many tymes þe pye hem gyllys."

*Handlyng Synne, Pt.I, p.13.



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Book 1 and the second of the first. No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

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Book 1 and the second of the first. No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

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